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LEWIS EINSTEIN: LOOKING AT FRENCH EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PICTURES IN WASHINGTON. ¶ JOSÉ LÓPEZ-REY: GOYA AND HIS PUPIL MARÍA DEL ROSARIO WEISS.

GEORGES WILDENSTEIN, Directeur

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LOOKING at FRENCH EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PICTURES IN WASHINGTON

HE National Gallery at Washington counts among its treasures a carefully selected collection of French 18th century painting. This includes great masters like Watteau and Chardin, and some lesser ones like Drouais and Van Loo, and covers the span of a period that extends from Louis XIV to the Revolution. Few eras in history offer a greater contrast than a century that went from the pompous dignity of Versailles to the ferocity of the guillotine and the beginning of another order. Oddly enough, this glaring antithesis was in no way reflected in the arts, for painting, like the poetry of that age, was never less revolutionary than in the time of the French Revolution. The great changes in artistic fashions had to wait for the romanticism that entered with the Royalist Restoration.

Never were the arts more amiable or more smiling than in the 18th century, when artists tried to eliminate from their view whatever was ugly or unpleasant. Before Louis XIV, a Le Nain with truthful realism could still depict artisans and beggars in their tattered rags. In the humanitarian Age of Reason, unless, like Greuze, artists influenced by Rousseau suddenly became sentimental, no painter, except Chardin, showed any interest in the expression of humble life. This willful narrowing of subject and the neglect of the lowly gave a certain broad unity to French art of this period and helped to shape it into almost a family likeness that served as a model for other countries to copy. Yet it would be taking a shallow view of the 18th century to find in it nothing more than an artificial and highly conventional art. Although it savored of the drawing room, its range extended into the kitchen and indeed to whatever contributed to the pleasures of life.



FIG. 1.—HYACINTHE RIGAUD —President Hebert. $Kress\ coll.$

Two portrait painters of talent, Rigaud and Largillière 1, who lived almost to the middle of the 18th century (Rigaud dving in 1743, Largillière three years later), belong more properly, by their style, to the age of Louis XIV. Both of them still shaped their outlook with the pomp of courtly splendor. Yet. as wigs became smaller, portraiture acquired a more modest flavor that laid greater emphasis on simplicity, naturalness, and amiability. These were not the attributes that the portraitists of an earlier age had sought. Rigaud's brush conveys a great sense of solemn dignity which belongs more specially to the Grand Siècle. In his fine portrait of

President Hebert² (fig. 1), that magistrate is represented seated augustly in an armchair in his library. The play of light on the judge's silken gown cleverly sets off the ruddy glow of his face with its traits of calm assurance and authority.

Like other popular artists who were unable to satisfy all the demands made

2. The President, died in 1707; Rigaud has made two portraits of him, one in 1702, the other in 1707 (Roman, Livre de raison..., pp. 94-134).

Bibl.: Walker, Painting and Sculpture from the Kress Collection, 1945, reprod. p. 157.

^{1.} The writer is indebted for many of the facts to Mr. John Walker's notes in the two volumes of *Masterpieces of Painting* which he edited with Mr. Huntington Cairns, 1944. For the notes he wishes to thank the editorial staff of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*.

on their brush, Largillière is said to have employed skilled assistants in order to depict the hands and robes of his sitters. As the fashionable painter of portraits, his output was enormous, but he knew what could be expected of assistants. He himself, when still a young man, had begun his career at Windsor by helping Sir Peter Lely to paint English court beauties.

The portrait in the Gallery of a young man with his tutor ³ (fig. 2) is conventional in a style characteristic of the age of Louis XIV, with its exaggerated taste for outward trappings. This picture was formerly believed to represent the Grand Dauphin with his tutor, Bossuet. A question of dates make this impossible,

and a supposed resemblance to some Stuart Prince is also most unlikely. The identity of this subject is still unknown.

Rigaud and Largillière depicted men who belonged more to the 17th than to the 18th century. Filled with a sense of pompous dignity, they had not yet adapted themselves to the new age nor understood the nature of the novel spirit that was then beginning to sweep over France.

One of Watteau's rare portraits expresses this spirit. In Gallery 55 hangs his likeness of Syl-

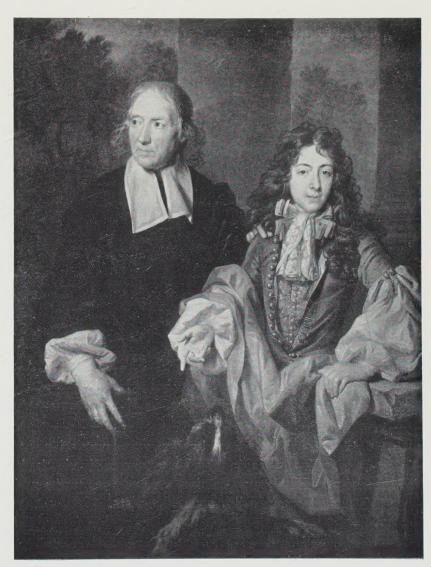


FIG. 2.—NICOLAS DE LARGILLIÈRE.—A young man with his tutor, Kress coll.

^{3.} Signed and dated 1865. H. 1,473 × L. 1,118 m. Perhaps painted by Largillière in England, because the tutor's costume finds parallels in English portraiture rather than in French.

Coll. Baron de Marenzi, Bruges; Dowager of Doncq-

via 4 (fig. 5), who in life was Madame Jeanne-Rose Guyonne Benozzi and by profession was an actress of exceptional talent. Casanova called her the "idol of France", and Frederick the Great praised her as the greatest artist of the kingdom. She became famous in the role of Sylvia, a name that clung to her ever afterward. Actresses in the 18th century were beginning to break through the barriers of class that before had isolated them, and Sylvia enjoyed the friendship and the esteem of many great ladies. Even more remarkable is that in that dissolute age she was

conspicuous by her unblemished conduct.

Watteau paints her soberly dressed in black velvet with a crimson scarf. He depicts her with a gentle expression somewhat unusual in the portraiture of that time. One sees in her the refinement of an inner life. An experienced judge like Casanova described her face as an enigma, and he observed that, although she had not a single good feature, no one could say that she was ugly. Forty years after her death Casanova would still dwell on her charm and praise her many virtues, and for once this attachment to her memory came from a pure friendship. Sylvia was married to an Italian actor, Antoine Joseph Benozzi, well known on the Paris stage as the Mario of Italian Comedy. She had one daughter, the lovely Manon Balletti, who was painted by Nattier with her bosom exposed as the Muse Thalia. nova was to enter deeply into Manon Balletti's life. She was madly in love with him, and he had promised marriage, but, as not infrequently happened with him, broke his word. Not much was known of this romance beyond some passages in his Memoirs until in the early years of this century the Italian Casanova scholar, Aldo Rava, discovered her love letters in the Castle of Dux in Bohemia, where Casanova spent his last years as Librarian. Manon Balletti afterward married François Blondel, the King's architect and the author of a well-known work on architecture and decoration. She and Blondel each kept a separate house, but they would meet in a third abode. The marriage is said to have been happy. The architect was not of a jealous nature, and on one occasion, he expressed regret of not meeting Casanova who had been carefully whisked away.

When Pierre Crozat, well known both for his wealth and his taste, became Treasurer of France, he built himself a vast mansion in Paris, in the Rue Richelieu at the angle where it now meets the boulevard. This house took him ten years to complete, and for its decoration Crozat employed the best artists of the age. Watteau, at this time not yet well known, was commissioned to paint four panels for the dining-room. He was invited by his patron to live in the house, and he resided there for some time. He always remained on excellent terms with the financier, and under his roof he met many collectors and artists.

vers, Bruges; Prosper Crabbe, Bruxelles; Duc de Gramont, Paris; Fuller Feder, New York; Samuel Kress coll., 1955. Bibl.: William E. Sutda and Fern Rusk Shappley, Painting... from the Kress Collection..., 1951 Washington, 1956, p. 114. Bibl.: Walker, op. cit., reprod. p. 159.

4. H. 0,69 m × L. 0,58 m.

Coll. Abbé Thuelin; Rothschild; Wildenstein; Kress, 1945.

Three of the paintings that Watteau painted for this house have disappeared. The fourth is an allegory of the goddess *Ceres*, as *Summer* ⁵ (fig. 4). Watteau departed in this composition from the customary practice of representing naked or half-draped goddesses with conventional features. The two figures he painted are faithful to life. The goddess herself is represented as seated on a stook of wheat with her



FIG. 3.—ANTOINE WATTEAU.—Italian comedians.

Kress coll.

feet resting on clouds, and her arm gently stroking a not too convincing lion who paws at an unexpected lobster. The beauty of Ceres is striking, although her features are less delicate than those of her handmaiden. The latter, as she rises

^{5.} H. 1,385 m × L. 1,258 m. Painted c. 1712. Coll. Crozat; Lebrun; H. A. J. Munro; Charles Sedelmeyer; Sir Lionel Phillips; H. Michel-Lévy; Charles-Louis Dreyfus; W. Kress, 1954. Bibl.: WALKER, op. cit., 1951-1956, pp. 204-205.



FIG. 4.—ANTOINE WATTEAU.—Ceres, as Summer. Kress coll.

from behind the wheat, is quite lovely, and she is represented with a grace and a charm of expression that is as typical of Watteau as it is inimitable.

This picture may not have been altogether to the artist's taste, for it offered little opportunity to convey the painter's intimate feelings. Although Watteau had abandoned the conventional manner of representing allegories, he could find no outlet in this composition for the melancholy that characterizes so much of his best work. Instead he imparts to the goddess a wistful expression. She appears quite unconcerned by the sickle that he places in her hand or the wisps of wheat that are stuck in

her hair. Her interest, as she gazes far away, is toward something unknown. There is a more mature work by Watteau in the Gallery that represents the Italian Comedians ⁶ (fig. 3). They were a favorite subject of his, and he painted this picture for his English physician, Dr. Richard Meade, when, almost at the end of his short life, he went to seek health and fortune in London. The principal figure in the composition is a half-smiling clown dressed in white who is reminiscent of the famous Gilles in the Louvre. Around him in different attitudes are grouped the other members of his troupe. The drawing shows Watteau at his best, with less of an undertone of sadness than one feels in so many other paintings by his

^{6.} H. 0,64 m × L. 0,76 m. Painted about 1720. Coll. of Dr Mead for whom it was painted; Sir Thomas Baring; lord Northbrook; lord Iveagh; Walter Guinness; baron Thyssen; W. Kress, 1939. Bibl.: H. Adhémar, n° 211; — Walker, Masterpieces of Painting, p. 110.



FIG. 5.—ANTOINE WATTEAU.—Portrait of Sylvia.

Kress coll.



FIG. 6.—NICOLAS LANCRET .- La Camargo dancing. Mellon cotl.

brush. Except for the children playing in the foreground and the twanging mandolinist, the picture suggests little merriment. The players know that they have to laugh at appropriate moments, but their expression conveys no sense of real gaiety. They are aware that they are only comedians, and their task is to play the comedy of life.

Watteau is usually at his best when he represents comedians, and many of his pictures and drawings are of actors and clowns. How is one to account for this taste when nothing in his life is known to suggest either a sentimental attachment to some actress or his frequenting the neighborhood of the stage? Partly this can be traced to the lessons of his early training. His master, Gillot, had been fond of painting the characters of the Italian Comedy, and these were already familiar to him. But there was more than that to explain this taste. Watteau's life passed quietly in the company of very few intimates. He is said to have suffered some bitter disappointments in his friendships, and timid, sensitive, and reserved as was his character, he took refuge in solitude. His health was bad, his nature melancholy, so that the pronounced inclination that he showed for the stage suggests another explanation.

The comedian's art is usually a mask that conceals his nature which must never be allowed to rise to the surface. Actors and clowns by their art are obliged to hide their own feelings in order to assume the diverse characters that they impersonate. But the comedian who, owing to the condition of his profession, has to disguise his own personality must also show that he is something more than an anonymous player who has no other purpose than to express the feelings of others. The actor in reality projects himself outwardly while wearing a mask, and his talent lies in offering what is deep within him under another man's traits. In the comedian's art, as seen on the stage, Watteau found something that was akin to his own nature as it lay hidden under an apparent surface of gaiety. Before him were actors and clowns who had to express the same false mirth that he so frequently used as a blind in order to cover his deep melancholy. And the public applauded without pausing to realize the depths of sadness that lay concealed underneath.



FIG. 7 .- NICOLAS LANCRET .- The Picnic after the hunt. Kress coll.



FIG. 8.—PATER.—Fête champêtre.

Kress coll.

Watteau was a superb draftsman, a fine colorist and a master of composition, but he was also something more than an accomplished technician, as is true of every great artist whose genius has often to be looked for in what he leaves unsaid. If Watteau had lived in another age when different canons prevailed, it is possible that his talents might have enjoyed a better opportunity for expression than he could find in the polite and conventional amiability of the 18th century. Greatness, however, refuses to be confined within the walls of any artifice, and it has to be looked for in the originality of an artist's contribution. At first glance, Watteau appears to conform obediently to the spirit and precepts of that polished age. When, in 1712, the Academy elected him a member, he was described as the "peintre des fêtes galantes" which for the first time gave an official approval to a new style of art. Many years later, Sir Joshua Reynolds could still speak of Watteau's "French gallantries" without suspecting the depths of sombre feeling that lay concealed underneath or how the painter had often used the laughter of a clown in order to

express the tragedy of a soul. No one better than Watteau has convoyed an impression opposite to the gay one that with shallow merriment he purports to show. The amorous conversations that he depicts are also the pleasing phantoms of an imagination that barely concealed his own melancholy. Watteau's originality and in fact his genius lay in making use of this veritable antithesis between his subject and his own intimate mood. When he wishes to express on canvas the bleak thoughts that rose within him, he depicts some seemingly carefree figures, dressed in the costumes of Louis XIII's reign, as they dally amid sylvan sur-



FIG. 9.—BOUCHER.—Venus consoling love.

Gift of Mr. Chester Dale

roundings. Under the travesty of an apparent gaiety, the painter barely disguises the sadness of his own feelings, and even when outwardly preserving the conventions of his art he shows how its spirit could be completely altered by the reflection of his own thoughts.

Lancret and Pater are Watteau's most talented imitators. The two artists were excellent draftsmen who possessed a fine sense of color, but their work shows how it was possible to be at the same time very near and yet very far from their master. Both painters carefully followed Watteau's subject matter, but they completely disregarded the intimate feeling that lay underneath and, which remained out-



FIG. 10.—BOUCHER.—Allegory of Painting.

Kress coll.

side their ken. The spirit of their art evokes, instead, much of the charming futility that characterized an age when men thought themselves philosophers, to use a favorite word of that time, because they could reason about the pleasing diversions that contributed so greatly to the enjoyment of life.

It would be absurd to censure this school from any puritanical bias. Those who may be censorious enough to condemn its frivolity should remember that in no country more than France does the pursuit of pleasure call for very hard work on the part of its purveyors, in order to attain the rare perfection that it seeks. Beyond much apparent lightheartedness, the craft of both artists exacted a solidity of construction that came only from long practice and arduous effort. Both Lancret and Pater were accomplished painters, who, under the smile of the surface, concealed a skill that created much refined elegance. To see only shallow merriment in art of this character is to forget that so stout-hearted a warrior as Frederick the Great delighted in Lancret and possessed twenty-six of his pictures at Potsdam. Two of

these now hang in the Washington Gallery.

One depicts the famous Camargo (fig. 6) in a woodland setting, dancing with her partner Laval. There are other versions of this picture in the Wallace Collection and the Hermitage. but only in this one is she seen with her part-"Ah, Camargo, ner. que vous êtes brillante!", wrote Voltaire in praise, and Lancret painted her as though she had no other thought than the pursuit of her art. The dancer is quite oblivious to the admiring couples who are seated on the grass around. The background of trees provides her with a leafy setting which suggests that art and love can best be enjoyed in surroundings of nature.

Another fine work by Lancret, that comes also from Potsdam,



Fig. 11.—BOUCHER.—Madame Bergeret.

Kiess coll.

represents *The Picnic after the Hunt* ⁸ (fig. 7). Ladies, exquisitely dressed, stand with their cavaliers by the fringe of a wood. The scene is one of charm and elegance, as if to show that the chase is favorable to the pursuit of love.

^{7.} Hh. $0.76 \text{ m} \times \text{L}$. 1.07 m.

Coll. Frederic of Prussia; Mellon, 1937.

Bibl.: G. Wildenstein, n° 585, fig. 140; — Walker, Painting and Sculpture from the Mellon Coll., 1949. reprod. p. 102.

^{8.} H. $0.59 \,\mathrm{m} \times 0.74 \,\mathrm{m}$. Coll. Frederic II; kings of Prussia and Emperors of Germany; Wildenstein; Kress, 1946.

Bibl.: G. Wildenstein, n° 443, pl. 108 (Collation après la chasse); — Walker, P. and S. from the Kress Coll., 1945-1951, pp. 224, 225.

Pater's Fête Champêtre ⁹ (fig. 8) depicts a carefully drawn and delightful Arcadia. Pater is perhaps a shade less precise than Lancret, but he too paints an excursion into a land of dreams in which gay youths dally with exquisitely dressed and lovely ladies amid sylvan surroundings. What could be more peaceful or more pleasurable than such a scene? By Pater there is also a charming half finished sketch On a Terrace.

In his day the Court painter Lemoine had covered the lofty ceilings of Versailles with majestic goddesses who from their Olympian eminence looked down upon the courtiers underneath. His pupil, Boucher, was to discover a less exalted but more popular use for the goddesses. Forsaking the stateliness of the royal palace, he decorated the mansions of patrons who no longer cared for the *noble* style that had been so fashionable under Louis XIV. Boucher's merit was to discover a more human use for mythology and to paint with gay colors the warm loveliness of women's limbs. His subjects were quite as remote from Olympus as the idyllic scenes of Lancret and Pater had been removed from real life. These artists only aimed to depict delightful escapes from reality, and Boucher created a new mythology that took the place of what before had been only a dry and lifeless convention.

Two fine allegories by his brush hang in the Gallery, the one representating *Music* ¹⁰, the other *Painting* ¹¹ (fig. 10). Both are personified by beautiful women who with shapely limbs recline among the clouds. As an artist Boucher was conventional and not over interesting, but he was a glamorous painter, who had no other purpose than to please his patrons by making a frank appeal to the senses. He took a great part in forming French taste when in the course of the 18th century it preferred amiable lightness and



FIG. 12.—JEAN MARC NATTIER
Joseph Bonier de la Mosson.

Kress coll.

9. H. $0.745 \,\mathrm{m} \times L$. $0.925 \,\mathrm{m}$.

Coll. baronne Guillaume de Rothschild, Francfort; W. Kress, 1945.

10. Allegory of Music. H. 1,035 m × L. 1,30 m. Signed F. Boucher 1764. With its pendant, painted for the Prince Elector of Bavaria and brought from Germany in the first years of the 19th century by General de St. Maurice.

Coll. Maillet du Bouldy; coll. Rothan; coll. duchesse de Dino.

Bibl.: A. Michel, n° 937; — Walker, P. and S. from the Kress Coll., 1945, reprod. p. 163.

11. Allegory of Painting. Pendant. Kress Coll., 1945.
Bibl.: A. Michel, n° 938; — Walker, P. and
S. from the K. Coll., 1945, reprod. p. 162.

grace to a discarded pomposity. The style that he created was somewhat flavorless and highly superficial, but it was pleasing, well carried out, and popular. Another picture by him, of the same order, in the Gallery, represents a beautiful Venus consoling a tearful Cupid 12 (fig. 9). The painter brings the goddess from her abode in the clouds to a sylvan glade where he depicts her with doves at her feet and cupids playing by her side.

Boucher's novel treatment of mythology became somewhat stylized in its response to the taste of the day that he did so much to form. There were definite



FIG. 13.—JEAN MARC NATTIER.—Madame de Caumartin as Hébé.

Kress coll.

limits even to this kind of art. Actually, some of his best pictures depict women in inviting poses reclining in delightful, furnished interiors. These small paintings show the versatility of his talent, for Boucher was also a portraitist of considerable merit. In the Gallery hangs an interesting likeness of a *Madame Bergeret* ¹³ (fig. 11), whose husband had been one of the painter's earliest patrons. He represents her

^{12.} Venus consoling Love. H. 1,07 m \times L. 0,85 m. Gift of Chester Dale, 1943. 13. H. 1,44 m \times L. 1,66m. Signed and dated 1746.

Coll. J. O. Bergeret (mentioned in Bergeret inventory (unpublished), and remained in his family); A. ph. dc la Girennerie; Poisson de la Chabeaussière; Cotillon de Torcy; le Bos de Sainte-Croix; Fontaine de Resbecq; Kress, 1939.

Bibl.: WALKER, Masterpieces of Painting, p. 116.



FIG. 14.—FRANÇOIS-HUBERT DROUAIS.—Group portrait.

Kress coll.

as a woman who has just passed her prime. She is tastefully dressed in a cream-colored satin gown, and stands among her roses. One is a little too aware that the roses have been carefully planted and that the garden where she stands is not quite real. The interest of the picture comes from the artist's skill in portraying in an attractive setting an intelligent French bourgeoise.

At a time when Boucher was painting mythological nudes, Nattier painted richly clad ladies. Both artists had before them the same aim which was to represent grace and elegance, and both

imparted to their models the same lavish glow of painted health. The polished beauty that characterized life at Court had in itself something that was suggestive of eternal youth and tried generally to depict a very special type far more than to represent an individual. Nattier's sitters all possessed a distinct family look that helped to make up this common brood of the Court. Their hair is done to perfection, their complexion likewise. The ladies are always exquisitely attired, and their features are set off to further advantage by the play of light on the rustling silk of their dresses.

Whether he depicted royal princesses or wealthy bourgeoises, Nattier's ladies knew that they would be painted by him with an elegance that levelled all other distinctions in a common elevation. Emotions and human feelings were carefully suppressed, and caste differences were eliminated from these portraits. Those who dwelt in the Court Olympus were represented as though they were greatly superior to all ordinary mortals, and those who did not dwe'l there were depicted as though they did. No one was ever more successful than Nattier in producing this illusion of distinction. His subjects all conformed to a single type, and all of them were painted so as to resemble royal princesses. Plainly the individual character of his sitters in no way interested him. He embellished those who needed embellishment and enveloped them in a flutter of satin. He endowed the women that he painted with the same satisfactions of aristocratic loveliness that made them look alike.

The Gallery possesses a characteristic portrait by Nattier of Madame de Caumartin ¹⁴ (fig. 13), who was the wife of a Provost of the Paris merchants. He depicted her as Hebe, in a pose that conveys the suggestion of eternal youth. In fact, he painted her in much the same way that he had already painted the Duchess of Orleans, whose picture is now in the Museum at Stockholm. Princess and merchant's wife are both represented with the same tame eagle beside them, for whom they pour wine into a golden cup. Even a domesticated eagle could be introduced into the Courtier's mythology as a bird equally fit to grace a royal duchess as well as a rich tradesman's wife who had sat for the Court painter. Certain Court

ladies he painted with their bosom exposed. The wives of the bourgeois preserved their respectability better.

The portraits of men by Nattier are less often seen. An excellent one in the Gallery represents Joseph Bonier, Baron de la Mosson 15 (fig. 12), whose father was a financier who had been treasurer of the rich province of Languedoc. Bonier came from that class of Fermiers Generaux who, at the same time as they collected taxes also collected works of art and who reaped bountiful harvests for themselves that permitted them to take an acquisitive but cultivated interest in the pursuit of the arts and sciences. Bonier



FIG. 15.—GREUZE. -- Monsieur de la Live de Jully Kress coll.

14. H. 1 m × L. 0,70 m. Kress Coll., 1945. Bibl.: WALKER, P. and S. from the K. Coll., 1945, reprod. 160.

15. H. 1,379 m × L. 1,054 m. Signed, dated 1745. Salon of 1746, nº 67.

Coll. G. Rothan (as Buffon); Cte Cahen d'Anvers,

Paris; Mathis; Samuel Kress Coll., 1954.

Bibl.: William E. Sulda and Fern Rusk Shapley, op. cit., p. 134.

also occupied himself with the natural sciences. He is seen in this portrait seated in a lounging attitude in his study holding an open book. Some glass jars that contain specimens stand on the table behind him. His pose is comfortable, his features regular, and he has a look of refined distinction. In this picture Nattier depicts a man of culture. With rare skill the painter suggests a masculine equivalent to the grace



FIG. 16.—CHARDIN.—Still life.

Kress coll.

that characterized his portraits of beautiful ladies. Gone is the stiffness of Rigaud, gone the pompous dignity of Largillière. Here instead there is an ease of pose that reflects something novel in portraiture.

The Gallery possesses a few other 18th century portraits. By the elder Drouais is the likeness of a lady wearing a fur-lined jacket 16 that is not without merit. Of

^{16.} Drouais père. Dame à la fourrure. Coll. Chester Dale.



FIG. 17.—CHARDIN.—Soap bubbles. John W. Simpson coll.

FIG. 18.—CHARDIN.—The house of cards.

greater importance is a superb large family group 17 (fig. 14) by François Hubert Drouais, who with Nattier was the fashionable portrait painter in the middle of the century. French taste was then tired of pompous conventions and artificial standards and, while looking for something more natural, had discovered family life. Drouais has painted a pleasing interior in which the husband, wearing a richly embroidered dressing gown, bends over his wife who is seated in an armchair and caresses her young daughter. In the background a blue silk curtain repeats the color of the child's dress. The pose, although not unconventional, is in no way exaggerated. The drawing is excellent, the color and composition pleasing. It is frankly the picture of a family painted amid luxurious surroundings, and as such it offers a welcome document of polite life in the 18th century.

There are a few other portraits of note, one by Greuze of Monsieur de la Live de Jully 18 (fig. 15) who was the introducer of Ambassadors. He was the friend

^{17.} Group portrait. H. 2,44 m X L. 1,95 m. Signed and dated, ce 1cr avril 1756. Family of the Countess de Meulan?

Coll. Aristide Bruant, Paris; lady Swinton of Masham, Yorkshire; Kress, 1939.

Bibl.: Gabillor, les Trois Drouais, p. 89; — Walker, Masterpieces of Painting, p. 165. 18. H. 1,17 m × L. 0,89 m. Salon of 1759.

Coll. La Live de Jully; Feltre; Goyon; Montesquiou-Fezensac; Wildenstein; Laborde; Fitz-James: Duveen; Kress, 1939

Vente Lalive 1770 ou 64; Mauclair, 1184 et 85 (confusion).

Bibl.: WALKER, op. cit., p. 118.



FIG. 19.—CHARLES VAN LOO.—The Magic Lantern.

Schutte coll.

of Madame de Pompadour and a frequent guest at Louis XV's suppers at Versailles, which were far more respectable than is commonly supposed, for the King was a stickler for etiquette. Monsieur de la Live was also an enlightened collector of contemporary French art and became one of Greuze's patrons and of great assistance to him in his early career. In this portrait, the introducer of Ambassadors wears a white silk jacket which sets off his refined features. He is represented as playing a harp. His expression is intelligent and kindly, with a certains softness that is characteristic of the artist. Plainly, Greuze might have been a fine portraitist instead of

painting so many tiresome pictures that today seem vapid and sentimental.

The evolution in the 18th century of French art in the direction of a greater simplicity was to culminate in the cold classicism of the Directoire. The change was gradual and by no means even in its expression, for some masters of very different style flourished simultaneously, and Boucher was the contemporary of both Chardin and Nattier.

As an artist, Chardin took no interest in painting naked goddesses, nor did he attempt to express either Courtly elegance or the delights of Arcadia. His own Arcadia was in fact the kitchen. He aimed to represent nothing higher than humble life itself, but the life that he depicted had always to do with the occupations and the pleasures of small people. His painter's eye saw these living in an atmosphere of serenity in which he infused a poetry of his own. The life of most people is passed in humdrum occupations with little diversity or relief, but occasionally there comes a Rembrandt, or a Chardin, who can penetrate beneath the apparent monotony of the surface and discover an unsuspected beauty in the most commonplace pursuits. Art possesses, what might be called a democracy of its own. The true artist finds all men equal, for he sees them with eyes that level differences of birth and rank and fortune. These count for little on a canvas where a beggar can offer a greater interest than a king. Yet such interest is not to be looked for in the externals, but must touch something that lies underneath. In the case of Chardin, it extends to the housewife in her kitchen or the play of children in the nursery.

The painter's purpose is always the same. He discerns in his subjects something more than the outward appearance, and with an instinct that is only given to the great he tries to penetrate deeply into the soul.

Chardin was fond of remarking that one paints, not with colors but with feeling. In an age of artificial convention, when an exaggerated taste for pleasure and luxury prevailed, his art was always expressed in terms of the greatest simplicity. He conveys something more than humdrum scenes when he depicts children and women who are engaged in the most familiar occupations. Even his interiors are as modest as are the accessories that he paints. Many collectors of the time preferred his simplicity to the grandeur of Versailles. It is a proof of the esteem in which he was held that the King gave him a pension and a residence in the Louvre, although the royal taste was too luxurious to place any orders for his pictures. Chardin did better than to be a Court painter. He became the founder of a new bourgeois type of art and discovered his patrons mainly in the rich middle class, though also at the Swedish and the Russian Courts.

The Gallery is fortunate in possessing several fine examples by this master. One represents a governess teaching a small child ¹⁹. Other versions of the same subject are found in the National Galleries of London and Dublin. Nothing could be simpler, and yet few pictures convey a greater sense of inner beauty. There is here no false emphasis, and no prominence is given to one thing at the expense of another. Instead, there reigns a feeling of complete unity and harmony. Another

fine painting in the Gallery represents a boy occupied in building a house of cards ²⁰ (fig. 18), and there are similar versions of this in Paris, London, and Florence. The picture shows the care that Chardin gives to every detail. A less consequential subject can hardly be imagined, but the painter creates for it an interest all its own and uses his art as a medium with which to confer a kind of immortality to the fleeting and trivial



FIG. 20.—CHARLES VAN LOO.—Soap Bubbles.

Schuette coll.

^{19.} The Young Governess. H. $0.58 \,\mathrm{m} \times \mathrm{L.}\ 0.74 \,\mathrm{m}$. Signed, painted C. 1739.

Coll. Vte de Curel, Paris; Mellon Coll., 1937. G. Wildenstein, *Chardin*, n° 171.

^{20.} The House of cards. H. $0.82\,\mathrm{m} \times \mathrm{L}$. $0.66\,\mathrm{m}$ Mellon Coll., 1937. G. Wildenstein, Chardin, n° 141.

occupation of a moment. This also applies to another painting by his brush that has for its subject a boy who is blowing soap bubbles ²¹ (fig. 17). Other versions of this picture are in New York and Kansas City. Charles Van Loo tried to emulate Chardin's choice of subject, and two pictures by him in the Gallery show children who are blowing soap bubbles (fig. 20) and playing with a magic lantern ²² (fig. 19). As a painter, Van Loo was not without merit, but his art had no soul, and the relation that he bears to Chardin in these pictures is not unlike that of Lancret and Pater to Watteau.

Towards the middle of the 18th century, the Prince of Lichtenstein was the Emperor's Ambassador at the Court of Versailles. With greater critical discernment than was displayed by Louis XV, to whom he was accredited, the Prince bought from Chardin four of his genre pictures. Two of these, are now in the Gallery. One represents a nurse leaning over a table that has been set for a simple meal ²³ and the other depicts a kitchen maid peeling turnips which she throws into an earthen bowl ²⁴ (fig. 23). It would be difficult to think of a less elevated subject or of one that has been treated with a greater simplicity and truthfulness. Chardin only aims to bring out the poetry of everyday life by finding dignity in the most lowly pursuits. This picture of a servant in a kitchen conveys a sense of quiet repose and of peaceful serenity that suggest far more than is shown on the surface. Every detail is so natural in its complete simplicity that one does not at once realize the greatness of his art, nor understand how so humble a subject could have been painted in the near neighborhood of Versailles.

Two pictures in the Gallery reveal other aspects of Chardin's varied talent. One is an admirable *still life* that represents a pheasant with two hares lying on a table ready to be cooked ²⁵ (fig. 16). Every detail has been carefully studied, and none is so insignificant that it is neglected. The artist gives animation and color to dead objects that would be lifeless if painted by a lesser man. There is another *still life* of peaches and plums and a coffee jug ²⁶, wonderfully painted with a vividness of color that gives it warmth.

^{21.} Soap bubbles. Gift of Mrs. John W. Simpson, 1942.

^{22.} Soap bubbles and The Magic lantern, are gifts of Mrs. Florence Schuette. Formerly, coll. Emperor of Germany.

^{23.} The attentive nurse. H. 0,46 m \times L. 0,37 m. Also called les Aliments de la convalescence or la Gardemalade.

Salon of 1747 (n° 60). Coll. Prince de Liechtenstein; Kress, 1950.

Bibl.: G. WILDENSTEIN, Chardin, n° 41; — WALKER, P. and S. from the K. Coll., 1945-1951, pp. 226-227.

24. The kitchen maid (la Pourvoyeuse). Same provenance, same measurements. Anc. coll. Liechstenstein. Bibl.: G. WILDENSTEIN, Chardin, n° 42.

^{25.} H. 0,843 m × L. 0,581 m. Painted about 1760-65.

Coll. David-Weill; Kress, 1946.

Bibl.: G. Wildenstein, Chardin, n° 714, pl. 83; — Walker, P. and S. from the K. Coll., 1945-1951, pp.228, 229.

^{26.} Coll. Mis de Biron; coll. Chester Dale.

Pendant of the painting in the Spaulding coll., Boston Museum of Art. Bibl.: G. Wildenstein, Chardin. n° 798, pl. 108.



FIG. 21.—HUBERT ROBERT.—The old bridge.

Kress coll.

There is also the *portrait of Lady with a muff* ²⁷ (fig. 22). Chardin is not usually regarded as a portraitist, and many likenesses are somewhat questionably attributed to his brush. This one is noteworthy because of its depth of expression. The sitter looks as if she had seen much in her long life, and her old age had left her without illusions. Her traits suggest a nervous apprehension which is restrained by a characteristic sobriety. Chardin cleverly makes use of a black scarf over a white lace headdress to set off the woman's tired features.

No artist better than Fragonard knew how to express the lighthearted charm of the 18th century. His taste in this direction left him open to charges of frivolity and of occasional lasciviousness, and in different degree both accusations are

^{27.} Portrait de Mme ..., ayant les mains dans son manchon. H. 0,805 m × L. 0,645 m. Salon of 1746, n° 73. Coll. Leopold Goldschmidt; Cte Pastré; Kress coll., 1945. Bibl.: G. WILDENSTEIN, 566; — WALKER, P. and S. from the K. Coll., 1945, p. 161.

true. Yet for those who admire his talent, these sins are more than atoned for by a great sense of beauty and a spontaneous gaiety. Plainly, he delighted in the pleasures of life, and he discovered charm in all that he saw in the world around him.

Fragonard, when in Rome, was frankly bored by its ruins, and he left these to be depicted by his fellow pupil and intimate friend, Hubert Robert. Fragonard has painted an interesting portrait of this artist that is in the Gallery. As in his other portraits, he imparts his own gay vivacity and animation to this fine picture in which the eyes, mouth, and even the nose of his sitter seem to have something to say. He conveys an impression of life



FIG. 23.—CHARDIN.—The kitchen maid. Kress coll.



FIG. 22.—CHARDIN.—Portrait of a Lady with a muff.

*Kress coll.**

to the features of his friend whose talent, unlike his own, showed itself principally in depicting the mellow serenity of dead ruins. One sees this in Hubert Robert's fine picture of the Ponte Salario under whose ancient arch are some kneeling washerwomen (fig. 21). To Roman ruins Fragonard preferred the charm of tall cypresses in Roman gardens as they rose over marble fountains where cool waters rippled. He preferred still more to paint girls half-resisting, half-yielding to their lovers' embrace. He himself saw beauty in terms of pleasure, and he saw pleasure in terms of art, and in order to give life to this vision, he created a style all his own that was as



FIG. 24.—FRAGONARD.—The visit to the nursery.

full of charm as it was remote from the Italian academic, as well as from the domestic realism of the Dutch.

Fragonard's talent was so varied and his facility was so great, that he was able to adapt his art to any style. In spite of misguided efforts on the part of some of his early patrons to direct his talent toward historical painting, he preferred his own taste, which was to combine art with a love of mirth that gave to his work an inimitable impression of something living and gay. Fragonard loved life in all its manifestations. His own career also had its share of romance, and there are picturesque anecdotes that tell of his attachment to the famous dancer, Mlle Guimard, and the trick that he played on her after she had forsaken him. Fragonard had just painted her with a lover's eye, impersonating a graceful and smiling Terpsichore, but after he had broken with her, it irked him to leave this memory of a now embittered love for others to see. He returned to her residence to gaze



FIG. 25.—FRAGONARD.—Blind man's buff,

at the portrait once more and then suddenly with a few strokes of his brush, he altered the expression of her face and made it one of scowls and fury. A few minutes after he had gone. Mlle Guimard returned, accompanied by her new admirers to whom she wished to show the picture. When she discovered what had been done to it, she burst into a fit of uncontrolled rage that made her resemble more than ever the now disfigured likeness.

The art of that age often wandered into licentious fields, and nothing was ever forbidden to Fragonard. He found in amorous subjects the occasion to display his skill by depicting what were then known as "gallantries". He drew and painted bedroom scenes sometimes with propriety, sometimes with impro-

priety, but never with vulgarity. Life for him was not a set piece, but something living and amusing.

No painter ever surpassed Fragonard in creating an impression of playful and carefree ease. The lightness of his touch bespoke a feeling of gaiety that hid all trace of labor. His pictures were painted with sheer delight in the pleasures of life. They convey a feeling of merriment that hides every trace of the toil that had been necessary to form his art. But in the pursuit of his craft, Fragonard was most conscientious, diligent, and arduous. Indeed his apprenticeship as a painter lasted for some fifteen years.

On his return to Paris Fragonard enjoyed a considerable reputation. He frequented a world of financiers that he met at Madame de Pompadour, and later at Madame du Barry. They gave him commissions, and he soon acquired the reputation of being an "amusing painter". His aim went no further than to please his patrons by the grace and wit and laughter of an art that had discarded the conventional formality of Boucher's manicured goddesses. There was something much more natural and intimate and human about Fragonard.

Two pictures 27 a (fig. 33, 34) by him in the Gallery were painted about 1776

Coll. St Julien; Jenny Coulon; E. Pereire; Cte Pillet-Will; Gulbenkian; W. Kress coll., 1939. Bibl.: WALKER, Masterpieces of Painting, p. 124.

²⁷ a. A game of Hot Cockles. H. 1,15 m X L. 0,92 m. Painted between 1767 and 1773, as a pendant to A game of Horse and Rider.



FIG. 26.—FRAGONARD.—Blind man's buff.

Kress coll.

for the Baron de Saint Julien, who was a distinguished collector of the time. They show the artist at his best. One of them represents children playing, and the other depicts amorous couples dallying in beautiful park-like surroundings that are reminiscent of Versailles with its statues and clipped hedges and beds of roses.

Fragonard delighted in representing nature in the brightness of early spring when the trees began to burgeon. The atmosphere that he paints is luminous, and in the golden sunshine the trees are at their best. There is here no underlying sadness as in Watteau, nor does he employ that slight archaism of costume which makes the latter and his followers seem just a bit remote. Instead, Fragonard depicts the



FIG. 27.—FRAGONARD.—Blind man's buff, detail.

Kress coll.

contagious gaiety of young life as though he also entered into its spirit. He delighted in frivolities, yet his technique is always conscientious, and one has only to observe the care with which he painted the lap dog with a ribbon around its neck, that he places in the foreground of this picture. If there is any similarity in Fragonard to the work of another painter, it should be looked for in the quality of the light. He uses the same luminous tones that his friend, Hubert Robert was to employ in two views of the still unfinished gardens at Versailles that are now in the Gulbenkian Collection.



FIG. 28. FRAGONARD.—The Swing, detail. Kress coll.



FIG. 29.—FRAGONARD.—The Swing, detail.

In the two great pictures known as *Blind Man's Buff* (fig. 25, 26, 27) and *The Swing* ²⁸ (fig. 28, 29, 30), Fragonard stands at the peak of his art. The subjects were congenial to him, for he repeated them with variations on other occasions. Almost certainly these two canvases were originally united as one. It is not known when they were separated, for their early history is wrapped in mystery, and they were not mentioned till 1845, at the sale of the Marquis de Cypierres's collection, when Fragonard was so little appreciated that they were sold for five hundred francs. If the two were joined together again, the trees in the center would form part of a single clump; one notices a bit of the identical trellis that stands in the background of the picnic scene in *Blind Man's Buff* and is continued in *The Swing*.

^{28.} The first, H. 2,162 m × L. 1,978 m; the second, H. 2,158 m × L. 1,854 m. Painted c. 1765. Coll. Cypierre; Camille Groult; Samuel Kress Coll., 1954. Bibl.: William E. Suida and Fern Rusk Shapley, op. cit., pp. 76-78.



FIG. 30.—FRAGONARD.—The Swing.

Kress coll.

The separation of this great picture into two canvases has, in certain respects, worked to its advantage, for the effect produced by different scenes of a similar character is more impressive than if these were joined together. A delicacy of expression, a healthy gaiety, and a lightness of touch that the artist never surpassed in any other work distinguishes these pictures. The scene is playful and merry, the composition is graceful and delicate. The trees that stand in the foreground, the hills that rise in the distance frame a scene in which one feels the enjoyment of life in a setting of rare beauty. The pictures, if united, would be comparable, although somewhat larger, to the Fête de Saint Cloud, a masterpiece of Fragonard's that hangs in the Bank of France. It is similar in construction and style. Both works are probably of the same period, although the Washington pictures are perhaps a little earlier, for in The Swing are reminders of the Roman Campagna that must have still clung fresh in his memory. Fragonard makes use of a background of trees to set off the figures of his subjects that are occupied only in frank enjoyment. In his mind he still saw the great cypresses and ilexes in the gardens of Tivoli, where they cast a shadow over the splash of fountains. The nature that he delighted in was far from the ploughed French farmland or the mountains of his native Provence, but it was near to the romantic scenery of the Roman Campagna.

There is in the Gallery a pair of small ovals by Fragonard that represent Love as Folly (fig. 32) and Love as a Conqueror 29 (fig. 31). Other versions of this subject exist, one in the Frick Collection. They show the most conventional side of the painter and how much he missed when he did not introduce his own personality. Later he attempted to conform to the new taste for simple life, and in his Visit to the Nursery 30 (fig. 24) he depicts a young father kneeling down to watch his child in the cradle. The mother stands behind with two small children. The subject breathes the spirit of Rousseau, but Fragonard with all his versatility seems less at home in painting this scene of family life than when he gleefully depicted less virtuous pleasures.

The end of the 18th century is somewhat sparsely represented in the Gallery. Boilly descends from Chardin, but he is a Chardin who has gone into the street to find his subjects. A painting by him, conscientious but hardly revealing, represents an artist's studio. There is also a portrait 31 (fig. 35) by Madame Vigée-Lebrun, painted in a distinct style that begins to depart from the

Coll. of Isnards family; coll. of MM. Wildenstein, New York; coll. of Mrs. John W. Simpson, New York. Given to the National Gallery of Washington, in memory of Kate Seney Simpson, 1947.

^{29.} Oval. H. $0.54~\mathrm{m} \times \mathrm{L}$. $0.45~\mathrm{m}$. Perhaps in the Leroy de Senneville sale, april 5th 1780, n° 56 and 57 (400 pounds, to Verrier); — Veri sale, december 12th 1785, n° 39 (427 pounds, to Milin, with a pendant); — sale Folliot, april 15th 1793, n° 50 (both canvas).

^{30.} The visit to the nursery. H. 0,73 m × L. 0,92 m. Painted before 1784. Coll. le Roy de Senneville, Paris; Jules Burat, Versailles; Mme Burat, Paris; Kress, 1939. Bibl.: WALKER, op. cit., p. 122.

^{31.} Marquise de Laborde (?). H. 1,07 X L. 0,83 m. Coll. Pierpont-Morgan; W. Kress.



FIG. 31.—FRAGONARD.—Love as conqueror.

John W. Simpson coll.

painting pleasing subjets that avoided all that was serious in life. David himself was quite sufficiently serious. He went to Rome to study, making friends there with a compatriot named Pecoul, the son of a wealthy contractor. This young man arranged for David to marry his sister who, at seventeen, was half the painter's age. The marriage was conventionally arranged, but did not take the politics of the time into consideration. In 1794 Mme David left her husband because of his violent revolutionary opinions, for he was then a follower of Robespierre. He painted Marat lying murdered in his bath, and he made a tragic sketch of Marie Antoinette when the tumbrel

tradition of the 18th century. How different is the spirit of this portrait from one say by Nattier. The lightness of touch and the Courtly elegance have disappeared, and instead of a charming fantasy that borrows much from the imagination, there is something solid and sober and precise in this portrait that already evokes the spirit of David and Ingres. The splendor of Versailles existed no more, but the heavy pomp of the bourgeois Court of Napoleon was shortly to come into existence.

David was the painter of this new age. He began his career by taking lessons from Fragonard who was to befriend him in his youth. He learned how to follow Boucher and Van Loo,



FIG. 32.—FRAGONARD.—Love as Folly.

John W. Simpson coll.



FIG. 33.—FRAGONARD.—A game of hot cockles.

Kress coll.

that bore her on the way to the scaffold halted for a few moments underneath his half-shut window. As a revolutionary, David was more vocal than violent, and later when he stood trial, he in his declared defense that he had never denounced anyone and had never been responsible for anyone's arrest. When David was thrown into prison as a supposed terrorist, Mme David returned to her husband and was instrumental in securing his early release.

David's portrait of his wife 32 (fig. 37) was painted in 1813 when she had become portly and middle aged. He depicted her with the same meticulous care that

he gave to all his work. She wears a pale gray satin dress and holds a shawl. Her head is beautifully drawn and dark curls come out from beneath a small toque over which are ostrich feathers. The picture is a fine example of the new bourgeois art which had gone very far from the caprices of the 18th century. Also in the Gallery, is the *portrait of Madame Hamelin* ³³.

^{32.} H. 0,721 m × 0,632 m. Signed and dated 1813.
Coll. the family of the artist; comtesse Joachim Murat, by 1930 Mis de Ludre; Samuel Kress Coll., 1954.
Bibl.: William E. Sudda et Fern Rusk Shapley, op. cit., p. 68.
33. H. 1,25 m × L. 0,95 m. Painter about 1800. Also known as a Portrait of young girl in white.
Coll. H. O. Havemeyer; Chester Dale Coll., 1941. Bibl.: Walker, Masterpieces of Painting, p. 152.

David then stood at the peak of his artistic career. He painted Pope Pius VII and remained enough of a revolutionary to refuse to conform to the Vatican etiquette that demanded of an artist that he remain on his knees while painting a Pope.

David also painted the young Bonaparte in 1798, and this picture, although never finished is remarkable as a character sketch. Two years later he again painted him, this time in full uniform and. in accordance with his wish, seated upon a prancing horse, supposedly crossing the St. Bernard on the way to his victorious Italian campaign. The artist soon forget all his early republi-



FIG. 34.—FRAGONARD.—A game of horse and rider.

K. ess coll.

canism and, like many others at that time, found no difficulty in attaching his fortune to the rising star of Napoleon. Even the classicism of the age which found its early models in *Brutus* and the *Gracchi* now discovered these in the glory of Caesar.

David's portrait of *Napoleon* ³⁴ (fig. 36) in the National Gallery is typical of the new style which was as different from 18th century art as was the new Empire of Napoleon from the ancient monarchy. The picture is painted vigorously and

^{34.} Napoleon in his study. Signed and dated 1812. H. 2,039 m × L. 1,251 m. Coll. Marquess of Douglas, Hamilton Palace; Earl of Rosebery, London; Samuel Kress coll., 1954. Bibl.: William E. Suida and Fern Rusk Shapley, op. cit., pp. 64-66.



FIG. 35.—MADAME VIGÉE-LEBRUN.—Portrait of a Lady (Mlle de Laborde?).

Kress coll

solidly. The composition is good, the coloring cold and clear, and the drawing admirable with an attention paid to minute detail which is as precise as if it were by the hand of a Flemish primitive. The details have been carefully selected and are forcefully expressed. The Emperor's sword in its scabbard rests on an armchair that is almost like a throne. and on which the imperial emblem of golden bees was embroidered. On the near-by desk lies a bundle of papers marked Code as a reminder of the greatest achievement of his reign which still lays down the law for France and other Latin countries. On the floor lies a

volume of Plutarch, which was the Emperor's favorite book and carried with it a suggestion that also Napoleon belonged to the band of heroes.

David depicts Napoleon with a meticulous craftsmanship and in terms of solid construction. No detail, even to the wrinkles of his stockings, is too insignificant to be glossed over. In his portrait one is far away from any lighthearted reminder of the 18th century. Gone is the grace and ease of touch, gone the caprice, the mirth and elegance that had characterized the art of that bygone age. David's brush left no room for the unexpected, no trace of that seemingly carefree and effortless manner in which Fragonard, who was sixteen years his senior, had excelled. It is hard to detect in this portrait any reminder of the lean Corsican who had stormed



FIG. 36.—JACQUES-LOUIS DAVID.—Napoléon in his study. Krevs coll.

the bridge at Arcola and, in the shadow of the Pyramids, had destroyed the Mamelukes. The youthful general who became the legatee of the French Revolution was now a middle aged Emperor already showing signs of obesity, intent on creating a pretentious court and founding a dynasty. The fierce republicanism that David once took pride in had long ago yielded to the glitter of the new Empire. No one could excel the artist in depicting the gilded trappings and the fancy ceremonial robes, at once impressive and yet absurd, that had been devised by imperial command. These richly embroidered costumes are admirably represented in David's gigantic canvas in the Louvre, that portrays the coronation of Napoleon. The Emperor appreciated in David the ability to convey with a literal precision the splendor of the new pageantry. Napoleon expected to add to the greatness of his throne by a lavish use of magnifi-

cence. In vain he tried to give dignity and splendor to his astounding court, derived from the glory of the battlefield, but which pomp had turned into vulgarity, and where a laundress had become

a duchess and a stable boy a king.

Although the picture is dated 1812, this historic portrait of the greatest man of his age was painted in 1810 in the heat of England's death struggle with Napoleon. It had been ordered by the Duke of Hamilton, who counted himself a fervent admirer of the great Corsican. The Emperor professed annoyance that his portrait should be painted for a British enemy, but he was probably secretly pleased by this tribute of admiration. Napoleon was then at the peak of his glory with his authority unchallenged, and hardly anyone except Talleyrand suspected that he had passed his prime. He was married to the



FIG. 37 .- JACQUES-LOUIS DAVID .- Madame David Kress coll.

daughter of a lawful Emperor, who was herself the niece of Marie Antoinette. Marie Louise had borne him an heir, and his dynasty at last seemed solidly established. Who at this time could foresee the impending doom that was fast approaching.

LEWIS EINSTEIN

GOYA AND HIS PUPIL MARÍA DEL ROSARIO WEISS

HEN young María del Rosario Weiss died in Madrid in the summer of 1843, she had won some measure of recognition as a painter. Two years earlier, she had been made an honorary member of the Royal Academy of San Fernando, where memories of her teacher, Francisco Goya, were still alive, and for one year and a half she had been giving instruction in drawing to the thirteen year-old Queen Isabel II. She was also reputed to be very skilful in making copies of old masters' works; this repute, however, was somewhat marred by the fact that a well-known restorer had persuaded her to paint her copies on old canvases and then sold them as old masters' originals. According to a biography published in 1843 1, the association between the gifted copyist and the wily restorer came to a sudden end with the latter's death. Yet, she went on making copies after old masters' pictures, reaching such heights of perfection that at least one collector became alarmed. The Duchess of San Fernando, who had in her collection what were regarded as Velázquez's original color sketches for the equestrian portraits of Philip IV and the Count-Duke of Olivares, had allowed the young artist to copy them; but, on seeing the copies, the Duchess quickly bought both of them and refused to let the dexterous painter copy any other picture in the ducal collection.

María del Rosario was born in Madrid on October 2, 1814, little more than two years after the death of Goya's wife; her mother was Doña Leocadia Zorrilla de Weiss, and there is some reason to surmise, if not to conclude, that her father was the widowed artist. It is at least a matter of record that he openly expressed a paternal affection for her. It is also known from a legal document that as early as 1811 Doña Leocadia had been accused of adultery by her husband 2.

^{1.} Semanario Pintoresco Español, Madrid, November 26, 1843; reprinted in Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, Antecedentes, coincidencias é influencias del arte de Goya, Madrid, 1947, pp. 337-338.

2. Marqués del Saltillo, Miscelánea Madrileña Histórica y Artística, Primera serie. Goya en Madrid: Su familia y allegados (1746-1856), Madrid, 1952, pp. 61-62, and 108-109.

According to the abovementioned biography, María del Rosario had been entrusted to the care of Goya "as a result of the misfortunes suffered by her family," and she was not yet seven years old when the artist began to give her instruction in drawing, which he endeavored to do "without boring her." To this end, he used to draw small figures, groups, or cari catures on a piece of paper which she would then copy.

In 1824, Goya left Spain for political reasons 3. María del Rosario remained behind in Madrid in the care of Goya's friend, the architect Tiburcio Pérez, whose magnificent portrait the artist had painted four years earlier (Metropolitan Museum, New York). There, the little girl continued her art instruction, and "began to use the shading stump and India ink" with such eagerness that there were days in that summer when she copied "three and



FIG. 1.—GOYA AND WEISS.—A Clown. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.

even four Goya caprichos with great accuracy and notable chiaroscuro effects ⁴." Enrique Lafuente has rightly noted that the uncapitalized word caprichos would not necessarily refer to Goya's aquatint series of that title ⁵. It is, indeed, well known that the term had been used for centuries by artists in and outside Spain. In Goya's time, its currency had extended from the artists' into the writers' vocabulary. As for Goya himself, he used it, with or without a capital, before and after etching the famous series, to refer to compositions in which he gave full play to his powers

^{3.} José López-Rey, A Cycle of Goya's Drawings: The Expression of Truth and Liberty, London, 1956, pp. 47-48.
4. See note 1.

^{5.} *Op. cit.*, p. 158.



FIG. 2. -WEISS .- A Clown, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.

María Ferrer, a wealthy liberal exiled in Paris: "This astonishing child wishes to learn miniature painting, and I also wish her to do so, for she is probably the greatest phenomenon of her age in the world, doing what she does. She has very fine gifts, as you shall see if you will be so obliging as to help me. I should like to send her to Paris, provided you would take care of her as if she were my daughter, and I would repay you either with works of mine or out of my pocket. I am sending you one small sample of the things she does, which have astounded all the professors at Madrid, and I am con-

of imagination and observation. Bartolomé José Gallardo employed it in much the same sense when speaking of the "original *Caprichos*" which Goya had thought of executing under the title *Visions of Don Quixote* 6. In fact, Goya was not even the first to use the term *caprices* as a title for a series of etchings. Jacques Callot, for one, had done so as early as 1618.

To return to our main subject, in September of 1824, Leocadia Zorrilla and her daughter joined Goya, who had settled down in Bordeaux. The painter immediately turned his attention again to the artistic career of the little girl. On October 28, he wrote to his friend, Joaquin



FIG. 3.—WEISS.—A Clown. New York, Hispanic Society of America

^{6.} El Criticón. Papel volante de Literatura y Bellas-artes, Madrid, 1835, n° 1, pp. 40-41.



FIG. 4.—GOYA AND WEISS.—Children playing with a cart.
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.



FIG. 5.- WEISS.—Children playing with a cart.

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.

fident that the same thing will happen there. Show it to all the professors, and particularly to the incomparable Monsieur Martin. I could well send you many other samples were it not for fear of making this letter bulky 7."

There is no record of how Ferrer, who seemingly was a bit close ⁸, answered Goya's request. Nor is it known whether he showed the little girl's work to the "incomparable," and now unidentifiable, M. Martin, or to any other artist. The fact is that the child remained in Bordeaux, where she entered the studio of the painter Antoine Lacour (1778-1859), for whom, too, copying was the method of art training.

According to Laurent Matheron 9, who was well informed about the artist's Bordeaux period, María del Rosario, "who had been brought up in the midst of

^{7.} Colección de cuatrocientas cuarenta y nueve reproducciones de cuadros, dibujos y aguafuertes de Don Francisco de Goya precedidos de un epistolario del gran pintor y de las Noticias biográficas publicadas por Don Francisco Zapater y Gómez en 1860 (sic), Madrid, 1924, p. 54.

^{8.} Manuel Núñez de Arenas, Manojo de noticias. La suerte de Goya en Francia, in: Bulletin Hispanique, Bordeaux, vol. III, n° 3, 1950, pp. 229-273.

^{9.} Goya, Paris, 1858, pages unnumbered, note 9.

Goya's sketches," was probably placed first in the studio of M. Vernet, "an obscure and unknown member of the large Vernet family," where she stayed for two years before entering the studio of M. Lacour, who was a sort of art director of a factory of "painted" tapestries.

Goya did not care much for Lacour's way of teaching, and evidently, at home, he kept on endeavoring to train the hand and awaken the taste of the little girl. The old master was at the time very much given to painting still-lifes, and it would seem more than a coincidence that, as soon as M. Lacour allowed María del Rosario to handle the brushes, she should have distinguished herself by painting, at home, pictures of the same sort of subject.



FIG. 6.—WEISS.—Children playing with a cart. New York, Hispanic Society of America.



In 1940, fifteen drawings which had lain uncatalogued at the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, were published by María Elena Gómez-Moreno ¹⁰. Nine are in sepia ink, and the rest in either black or red chalk; they are executed on pieces of paper of various sizes, giving unequivocal indications of having once been bound together. Their discoverer attributed the fifteen drawings to Goya, and pointed out that copies of five of those in sepia ink are among the seventy drawings in the same medium acquired by the Hispanic Society of America from M. R. Foulché-Delbosh in the 1910's.

^{10.} Un cuaderno de dibujos inéditos de Goya, in: Archivo Español de Arte, Madrid, vol. XIV, 1940-1941. pp. 155-163.

Foulché-Delbosh, the renowned professor of Spanish literature at the University of Bordeaux and editor of the Revue Hispanique, believed these seventy drawings to have been executed by Gova in his old age, and it was as such that they were acquired and published by the Hispanic Society of America 11. August L. Mayer, however, expressed the opinion that they were straight forgeries 12, and the Hispanic Society has since changed the attribution "to some follower of Gova living in the first half of the nineteenth century and not to the artist himself" 18_ which, as we shall see, is a correct description.

On the reverse sides of several of the drawings found by Señorita Gómez-Moreno and attributed by her to Goya, there are others childishly executed. She did not publish them, though she made the sugges-



FIG. 7. GOYA AND WEISS.—A French Soldier.
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.

tion that they, as well as those in the Hispanic Society of America, were probably by María del Rosario Weiss. At least, three of the unpublished compositions are careful though awkward copies after others believed by their discoverer to be by Goya. Since, to my knowledge, these copies have never been published, I reproduce them now along with the corresponding originals with which they were once bound together.

^{11.} William E. B. Starkweather. Paintings and Drawings by Francisco Goya in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1916, pp. 90-91, plates I-LXX.

12. Francisco de Goya, London, 1924, p. 107.

^{13.} The Hispanic Society of America Handbook: Museum and Library Collections, New York, 1938, p. 35.



FIG. 8. -WEISS.—A French Soldier. New York, Hispanic Society of America.

It may be well to repeat that the drawings in the Biblioteca Nacional with which we are concerned are executed in various media on pieces of paper that differ among themselves as to quality, thickness, size and even shape. Two of the irregularly shaped pieces are obviously parts of one sheet, the water mark of which includes the date 1821, approximately the year when Goya started teaching the not quite seven-year-old María del Rosario. One of these pieces of paper has a drawing on each side; both, as is the one on the companion piece, are obviously by Goya.

Evidence that all those drawings, whether by Goya or by another hand, were at one time bound together is provided by two holes, whose shapes are very much the same in every leaf; they are placed at a uniform distance of 37 mm on the

left side of what, having in mind the binding only, we may call the recto of each leaf.

For the sake of convenience, I shall designate each of the leaves in the Biblioteca Nacional to be discussed here by a Roman numeral, without in any way implying that my numeration may correspond to the order in which the various drawings were bound together, much less to the sequence in which they were executed.

Leaf I ($144 \times 102 \,\mathrm{mm}$) has on the recto a composition representing a clown with arms akimbo and legs wide apart (fig. 1). His figure distinctly recalls Goya's firm design; this, no doubt, has led to the attribution of the drawing to the artist himself. Yet, there is something awkward about the execution. The line, for instance, appears

hesitant here and there, particularly about the feet and legs; the shadow between the feet is, moreover, so inky as to eliminate any sense of depth. A similar inkiness flattens the same area in the childish copy found on the recto of number II (fig. 2). The case is different in the comparatively better version at the Hispanic Society (fig. 3), where one notices an attempt at suggesting depth by leaving some white streaks in that area of shadow, though the feet remain clumsily drawn, and the head is poorly inserted between the shoulders.

It is quite obvious that the recto of number II attempts to duplicate the recto of number I, even to the point of imitating the handwriting of the caption, Hay



FIG. 9.—GOYA AND WEISS.—A Friar. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.

av q. e me canso (figs. 1 and 2). As for the copy without caption at the Hispanic Society, maladroit as it is, it evidences a more skilful handling of the shadowed ground than the original itself (fig. 3). Since this, too, shows some dull or hesitant lines, particularly in the lower part, one is led to assume that Goya's composition on the recto of leaf I. at the Biblioteca Nacional, is not in its original state, having been retraced or reworked by an inexperienced hand, and that this hand was the same which made the copy, now also at the Biblioteca Nacional, and later on the more skilful one at the Hispanic Society of America (figs. 1, 2 and 3).

The picture on the verso of number II ($144 \times 102 \text{ mm}$), though heavily drawn in some parts, reveals the vitality of Goya's hand, mainly in the figures of the children in the cart; the

arm of the boy holding a whip and the whip itself are, however, hesitantly executed, and lack the vigorous quality peculiar to Goya's drawings even in his old age (fig. 4). A meticulous and abortive attempt at copying this composition by first tracing its outline with dotted lines appears on the verso of number I (fig. 5)—where, incidentally, we can gain some notion of how the wash was overlaid between the feet of the clown represented on the other side of the paper.

Though both pieces of paper are of identical size, in the copy the group of children has been slightly pushed to the right and the proportion of the figures altered, with the result that there is not room enough for the whole composition.

A much more proficient and roomier version is that in the collection of the Hispanic Society of



FIG. 10. -WEISS.—A Friar.

New York, Hispanic Society of America.

America (fig. 6). Here we can distinctly discern two layers of wash, one on top of the other, in the figures of the standing boys, and an obvious attempt at making the shadows under the cart transparent by the use of both brush and pen—which was not the case in the original (fig. 4).

A comparison of the three compositions reveals an increasing tendency to depict the eyes with solid ink strokes. This observation might be of help in the study of a number of paintings whose attribution to Goya has been questioned by scholars who have expressed the view that they are by Eugenio Lucas y Padilla (1824-1870), a view which has, however, been accompanied by the disconcerting remark that such

pictures should be regarded as extraordinary in point of quality within the $\alpha uvre$ of the minor painter to whom they are attributed.

The soldier on the recto of n° III (144 × 102 mm) betrays Goya's hand in the firmness of the overall design as well as in a number of vigorous traits. For instance, the modeling of the hands, and the shadows toward the foreground, under the mantle folds (fig. 7)—details which are enfeebled or muddy in the copy at the Hispanic Society of America (fig. 8). But even in what we must regard as the original there are maladroit parts which could hardly have come from Goya's unconstrained hand; in fact, the timorously brushed-in wash flattens and senselessly

distorts the body from the pen-outlined shoulder to the badly modeled arm. This the copyist tried to remedy by using a greater variety of tints which might bring some sort of depth to the modeling of the torso. The copyist, however, failed in the attempt to improve the lower half of the figure; indeed, it remains rather flat in spite of the washes employed to round the left thigh, and the half-boot on the left foot still does not agree with the outline of the leg. The eyes, which are depthless blots in the original, have gained little in the copy, where they appear as no more than two-hued inky spots.

Leaf IV has no verso drawing (148 × 113 mm). The one on the recto is of a monk (fig. 9). The few awkward traits here noticeable are the result of the inky shadows which contour the friar's arms and hands, an awkwardness



FIG. 11.—WEISS.—A Lame Man. New York, Hispanic Society of America.

which the copyist has accentuated in the picture at the Hispanic Society (fig. 10). The original, moreover, has some fine pen-outlines, which contribute to the roundness of the figure. These have been either deleted or hardened by the copyist, with the result that the friar does not appear well planted in space.

But for a few pen-strokes on the verso, there is only one composition on number V (147 × 107 mm; on paper considerably thicker than the others). It depicts a lame man seen swinging himself along on crutches against a background marked by a large shadow (fig. 12). As María Elena Gómez-Moreno reconstructs the process of composition, Goya first drew the man's right hand extended in a gesture of



FIG. 12.—GOYA (and WEISS).—A Lame Man. Madrid, Biblioteca National.

begging, and then brushed it over with a coat of wash. on top of which he drew with pen a female figure. Whatever the sequence of the corrections may have been, there can be no question that the large shadow has been used to blot off a figure, the bulk of which still protrudes from the wall well within the ground area defined by the crutches. In spite of some dispirited lines, notably from the beggar's waist to his lame foot, the drawing shows Gova's inventiveness and incisive execution, even in the way the crutches have been made to dominate the space where the woman stood at one moment in the process of composition. The copy at the Hispanic Society fails to achieve this, even though the shadow has been somewhat narrowed, and both crutches' tips made to rest distinctly on the ground (fig. 11).

Though I cannot quite



FIG. 13.—WEISS.—Man with a Scythe.
New York, Hispanic Society of America.

agree with the view that al! the sepia ink drawings from the Biblioteca Nacional published by Señorita Gómez-Moreno were entirely executed by Goya, good luck has enabled me to support her suggestion that those from the same group which she left unpublished are by María del Rosario Weiss. Evidence to this effect is provided by a leaf bearing two India ink drawings, one to a side, which I have had the opportunity of studying in a private collection in Paris. measures $150 \times 100 \,\mathrm{mm}$, and has two holes in the left hand side which correspond exactly as to shape, size (3 mm) and distance between them (37 mm) with those in the drawings at the Madrid Biblioteca Nacional.

On the recto, there is the picture of a male figure holding a sling (fig. 16); hesitantly drawn and muddily washed-in, the correc-

tions made in it are glaring. This India ink composition is reproduced, with noticeable improvement, in one of the sepia ink drawings at the Hispanic Society (fig. 14). In fact, the male figure, more distinctly though still hesitantly outlined, now looks boyish, and a more skilful handling of the wash has brought roundness and some briskness into it, even though the redrawn right leg has remained rather woody.

The composition on the back is lengthwise (fig. 15); it represents a woman lying on a bed or sofa and holding up a glass on a plate. Her hands are meaninglessly disproportionate and there is little feeling of space around the ill-drawn figure. What makes this picture interesting for our purpose, however, is that it bears, brushed in,

a childishly spelt out signature, *Mariquita Rosario*, a nickname of María del Rosario Weiss ¹⁴.

As far as I know, there are no extant copies of this one signed drawing. Nor are there many compositions which can be attributed to Mariquita Rosario and of which we have more than one version. To those discussed above, I should, however, add the one in the Hispanic Society of America representing a laborer who swings a scythe over a tree stump (fig. 13). Even though the arms appear to be heaped on the shoulders rather than flexed over them, one can detect a trace of Goya's vigorous setting of the figure in space—here marred by the failure to give breadth to

the washed-in body. Like the other drawings we have discussed, this one has traits alien to Goya's work. Noticeable, for instance, is the tendency to give a calligraphic character to the strokes defining the ground area. Another version, of about the same quality, was shown under the master's name in the Goya exhibition held in San Francisco in 1937.

Coming back to the drawings in the Biblioteca Nacional, we may consider the unfinished picture of a monk on the verso of n° VI (148 \times 103 mm); it has been sketched in chalk and retraced with brush in sepia ink (fig. 17). The brush strokes are so inky and hesitant as to suggest



FIG. 14.—WEISS.—Boy with a Sling. New York, Hispanic Society of America

^{14.} Leandro Fernandez de Moratín, in a letter written from Bordeaux, on October 30, 1825, refers to her as la Mariquita (Obras póstumas, vol. III, Madrid, 1868, p. 75).

^{15.} Exhibition of Paintings, Drawings and Prints by Francisco Goya, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco, 1937, n° 39.



FIG. 15 .- WEISS .- A woman in Bed. Paris, Private Collection.

a hand other than Goya's. But it is the composition on the recto of this leaf which is of particular interest (fig. 18). In the upper part, there is a dead man in a what looks like a Franciscan habit, lying on a bed, a crucifix in his hands. Even though the composition, in chalk, is marred by the blots of ink showing through from the other side of the paper, we can still enjoy the subtle blending of lights and darks that

Goya achieves, as well as the firm traits with which he delineates the figure of the dead man, whose head is seen resting solidly on the pillows. Below, the composition is repeated, also in chalk: here, the pillows look insubstantial; the head has been turned to an almost profile view—an effect which is accentuated by one of the ink blots showing through the paper—, the right sleeve now appears flat, and the feet are disproportionate. As for the subtle mingling of lights and darks, the rather mechanical use of the shading stump has failed to duplicate it.

One of the drawings at the Hispanic Society of America looks like another attempt to reproduce, this time in sepia ink, Goya's drawing of the dead man (fig. 19); the composition has been reversed and it comes somewhat closer to duplicating the dramatic rigidity of the dead body, though there is an obvious failure to render the contrasting plumpness of the pillows, which once more look simply fluffy.

On the verso of number VII (140×107 mm), there is a group of two washerwomen, executed with pen and brush in sepia ink (fig. 20). The composition is typically Goya's, and yet the pen strokes and the washes which build the shadows and outline the figures are so timid that they betray the concern of an inexperienced hand. The hesitant penstrokes are particularly unlike anything of Goya's, even in his old age; and the same should be said of the unshaded wash which fills in the space between the two kneeling women, flattening it as well as the face of the one seen in profile.

Some of the cursive traits among those which represent the rippling water edge, in the foreground, appear to be almost legible. One which blends itself with the outline of the clothes in the water seems decipherable as *Goya*. Lower down, there



FIG. 16.—WEISS.—Boy with a Sling. Paris, Private Collection

are other strokes which appear to spell, though not distinctly, *Paris*. Since Goya had been to Paris just before Mariquita Rosario joined him in Bordeaux, the possibility exists that here his young ward retraced a composition drawn some time earlier by her loving master. As for the picture on the back of this leaf, its subject—an artist's mannequin (fig. 21)—may come from M. Lacour's studio.

Other drawings attributed by María Elena Gómez-Moreno to Goya, should, I believe, also be abscribed to his and M. Lacour's young pupil; for instance, the head of a woman on the verso of number III (fig. 22), in which the sense of proportion, particularly about the forehead, upper lip and chin, is very like that of the mannequin—the seeming shadow on the cheek being nothing but the transparency of the wash used for the cape of the soldier depicted on the other side (fig. 7).

As for the only drawing on leaf number VIII (143 × 98 mm), I again believe that an attribution to María del Rosario is more tenable than the one to Goya (fig. 23). To be sure, the four human heads there represented are very Goyaesque, and probably come from one or more originals by the master. Yet, the cursive black pen strokes which attempt to give volume to the faces fail to do so, particularly in the two to the right, where the shadowing is as awkward as meticulous. The treatment of these heads resembles somewhat that of the one sketched above the figure of the dead monk in the sepia ink composition at the Hispanic Society of America (fig. 19).

To summarize, while Goya's vivid sense of observation, as well as of composition, is noticeable in the fifteen drawings at the Biblioteca Nacional of



FIG. 17.—GOYA AND WEISS.—A Monk Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.

Madrid attributed to him by María Elena Gómez-Moreno, the fertility of the master's creative stroke is for the most part lacking in nine of them. In fact, there are in each of those nine compositions spiritless, hesitant or otherwise maladroit parts which are plainly inconsistent with the overall design, and at times even with other parts of the same picture. Such inconsistencies cannot be explained as a result of Goya's old age, since there is no evidence in any of his indisputable works, including those from his last years, that his hand ever faltered when it came to drawing or painting. It might be argued that just such evidence is provided by the very drawings under discussion. Apart from the fact that a prerequisite for such an argument should be to prove conclusively the attribution of these rather clumsy drawings to Gova, it should be noticed that their execution does not evince the strain of an old skillful hand, but rather the timidity, overcareful-



FIG. 18.—GOYA.—A Dead Man (upper figure).

WEISS.—A Dead Man (lower figure).

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.



FIG. 19.—WEISS.—A Dead Man. New York, Hispanic Society of America.

ness and lack of grasp of an unskilled one. Hence, the explanation suggests itself that Goya probably sketched in the composition and let Mariquita Rosario retrace them and put in the washed shadows-where the most telling failures occur. There is even the possibility that Goya, led by his fatherly interest in the training of the little girl, may have actually guided her hand over his own sketches, the result being those somewhat warped pic-



FIG. 20.—GOYA AND WEISS.—Two Laundresses. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.

tures where we can recognize both his spirited and her immature strokes.



As do the drawings just discussed, most of those in the Hispanic Society of America recall Goya's vivid sense of observation and composition, but the case is quite different when we come to considering their execution, which is unlike Goya's in every case. However, there are among them drawings which reveal a more proficient hand than the others. Such is the case with those reproduced in the following plates of the catalogue brought out in 1916 by the Hispanic Society of America ¹⁶: IX, XIV, XIX, XXVI, XXX, XXXII, LIII, LXII, and LXVIII. Others—for instance those illustrated in plates VII, XI, and XVI—approximate rather closely the quality of the poorest ones at the Biblioteca Nacional. Between these two groups, stand the majority of these sepia ink compositions, all of which evidence in varying degrees an unskilled hand, which was very likely that of María del Rosario Weiss.

A few characteristics common to several of the drawings at the Hispanic Society

^{16.} STARKWEATHER, op. cit.



Fig. 21.—weiss.—An artist's Mannequin.
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.

of America, should be noted. In a number of them the human eyes are pictorially no more than dark spots, as can be seen in Man playing the guitar, Woman sweeping, Woman in the kitchen, and Man tossed by a bull, reproduced in plates VI, IX, XIV. and LV of the catalogue, to cite just a few. A larger number of them have in common the use of calligraphic strokes for both the modelling of figures and the rendition of ground areas. To cite only a few examples, this is clearly noticeable in the E-shaped lacing on the right knee of the soldier which reproduces an earlier composition where no such calligraphic shape is found (figs. 7 and 8), as well as in the drawings reproduced in plates IX, XVII. XXVI, XXXVIII, XLV, and LIII. Likewise, the monk partly retraced by Mariquita Rosario has on his right sleeve a hooked shadow which acquires a distinct question-mark appearance in the

copy at the Hispanic Society of America (figs. 9, 10). María Elena Gómez-Moreno came to the conclusion that the fifteen drawings she attributed to Goya, as well as those by his pupil with which they were bound, were executed in Bordeaux in the period 1824-1828. The reason for this dating is that among the drawings unquestionably by Gova, there is one in black chalk representing a man carrying serpents on his shoulders, which clearly shows analogies in point of technique, as well as in subject matter, with others executed by the artist in the same medium during his Bordeaux period; on the verso of this somewhat mutilated leaf, there is the figure of a majalike woman, poorly drawn in sepia wash, which must be the work of Mariquita Rosario (fig. 24). The fact that this poorly drawn composition has been crossed out by energetic calligraphic strokes would indicate that it comes from a time when she could



FIG. 22.—WEISS.—Head of a Woman. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.

realize, or be made to realize, the poor quality of her work.

There are in the whole group only three drawings drawn by Goya on paper, the watermark of which, including as it does the date 1821, gives a hint as to the time when the drawings may have been executed. But this, of course, is only a date *post-quem*. We know, on the other hand, that Goya started his training of Mariquita Rosario



FIG. 23.—WEISS. -Four Human Heads. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.

precisely in 1821 or 1822, when she was seven years old, and that the little girl went



FIG. 24.—WEISS.—Woman with a fan. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.

on copying Goya's drawings throughout the summer of 1824, when she joined him in Bordeaux, where, in all probability, this method of learning would not have been abandoned, not even after she entered the studio of M. Lacour. It should also be noted that a red chalk drawing of a French soldier—cnce bound with drawings by either Goya or Mariquita Rosario, or both—is very close in medium and execution to the master's preparatory sketches for his war series of aquatints, mostly executed throughout the second decade of the nineteenth century, though probably not completed till the early 1820's.

No copy of this composition by María del Rosario Weiss is known. It would seem, however, that she did copy at least a few sketches for the series which Goya thought of entitling Fatal Consequences of the Bloody War against Bonaparte in Spain, and other Emphatic Caprices, in Eighty-five plates. There is only one complete set of this series, the one that



FIG. 25.—WEISS.—A prisoner. Madrid, Prado Museum.

The Academy of San Fernando was able to publish only eighty of the eightyfive plates that Goya had intended for the series, although a few sets comprising eighty-two plates have come down to us. As for the total number, eighty-five, they are to be found together only in the one complete copy which was arranged and bound for Ceán, the one which bears the only title known to have been contemplated by the artist. There are extant a few separate prints of the three etchings with which Goya, at the highest known point in the process of completion, intended to close the war series. They are considerably smaller than any of the others. Their captions and sizes are: Tan bárbara

the artist, at an unknown date, had bound and sent to his friend Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, who had agreed to go over the title-page and the captions penciled on the plates, with a view to correcting any possible misspellings. Ceán never got around to proof-reading Gova's title and captions, and the series was not published until 1863, long after the artist's death. The Royal Academy of San Fernando, which then brought it out, gave it the title Desastres de la guerra, which there is no record that Gova ever considered. Apparently, in choosing this title the Spanish Academy was following the lead of the early French writers on Goya, Gustave Brunet and Laurent Matheron, to whom the war series recalled Jacques Callot's Les misères et les malheurs de la guerre 17.



FIG. 26.—GOYA.—La seguridad del reo no exige su tormento, etching. New York, Metropolitan Museum.

17. López-Rey, op. cit., pp. 66-70.

es la seguridad como el delito, 110 \times 75 mm; La seguridad del reo no exige su tormento, 100 \times 75 mm, and Si es delincuente que muera presto, 103 \times 70 mm.

Related to these etchings, there are four small sepia ink drawings, executed with both pen and brush, at the Prado Museum. In cataloguing the four of them as by Goya, Sánchez Cantón has called attention to the fact that they differ in execution from any other known sketch made by the artist for his etchings ¹⁸.

The composition in one of the drawings, though reversed, is very much the same as in the etching, *La seguridad del reo no exige su tormento* (figs. 25 and 26).



FIG. 27.—WEISS.—A Prisoner.

New York, Hispanic Society of America.



FIG. 28.—GOYA.—Sketch for etching reproduced in following figure, Madrid, Prado Museum.

Its size is slightly larger than that of the print: 110 × 80 mm. The drawing, markedly clumsy, differs from Goya's composition in the background, most of which has been left blank, and in the prisoner's legs, which are almost entirely bare. The bent body looks like a meaningless bundle with none of the incisive traits which hold it together in the print. The head is just a blot pierced in the middle by a hole-like white spot which fails to reproduce the light that in Goya's work outlines the nose and gives depth to the prisoner's shadowed face. The chains are as clumsily drawn as the clasped hands

^{18.} Musco del Prado. Los Dibujos de Goya, introduction and notes by F. J. Sanchez Cantón, vol. II, Madrid, 1954, nos 334-337.

and help to slacken out of meaning Goya's tense composition. The hodgepodge of inexpressive wash and pen strokes brings to mind the name of Mariquita Rosario, and leads to the suggestion that this sepia composition is a copy made by her after a lost Goya sketch for *La seguridad del reo no exige su tormento*. Somewhat closer to Goya's composition is the slightly better drawing in the Hispanic Society of America showing a like prisoner, in fetters though without the chains (fig. 27).

The drawing related to the aquatint *Si es delincuente que muera presto*, has the same height as the print, though not quite the same width, 65 instead of 70 mm. The composition is also reversed with relation to the aquatint (figs. 28 and 29).



FIG. 29.—GOYA.—Si es delincuente que muera presto, etching. New York, Metropolitan Muscum.



FIG. 30.—GOYA. - A Prisoner. Madrid, Prado Museum.

Contrary to the other drawing, this one shows a masterful delicacy in the modeling of the human figure and in the rendition of a murky, yet fully pictorial, space. An important correction is plainly noticeable: the head of the prisoner, which was originally lifted and offered a frontal view, has been washed off by the artist, who has preferred to depict it hanging down and in profile. It seems safe to assume that this sepia wash drawing was, indeed, a preparatory sketch made by Goya for the etching. The print shows that the artist reworked the plate in order to bring still another change in the position of the prisoner's head and to depict him as beardless.

The sepia ink drawing which Sánchez

Cantón regards as preparatory for *Tan bárbara es la seguridad como el delito* has suffered considerably from rubbing (fig. 30). Yet, it still gives evidence of Goya's masterful sense of both composition and execution. As for the connection between this drawing and the just mentioned print, their resemblance is rather slight ¹⁹.

The other drawing, which Sánchez Cantón catalogues as by Goya, together with the ones just discussed, is not connected with any known print; it measures 110 × 80 mm, and represents a hooded man, probably a monk, standing by a confused bulk which looks like a crouching devilish figure (fig. 31). Its execution reveals rather openly María del Rosario Weiss's hand. Even if it comes from a Goya composition, the young painter must have grossly misunderstood and weakened



FIG. 31 .-- WEISS .- Two figures. Madrid, Prado Museum.

it; indeed, the unskilled use of wash and cursive strokes fails to build the background, as well as the figures. The crouching personage can hard'y be made out of the meaningless intercrossing lines; the standing figures is also poorly drawn, and its left hand is particularly telling as a revelation of the crude quality of the composition.

*

Other drawings have been published as Goya's originals which should rather be credited to either him and Mariquita Rosario, or to the latter only. For instance, there is at the Lázaro Galdiano Museum, Madrid, a picture of a

^{19.} A wash drawing included under n° 40 in the above-mentioned Goya exhibition held at San Francisco is very close, in both composition and size, to the print, Tan bárbara es la seguridad como el delito.



FIG. 32.-WEISS.-A Beggar. Madrid, Lázaro Galdiano Museum.

beggar, which Boix and others after him have included among the master's works $(146 \times 140 \text{ mm})^{20}$. Here again, the general composition brings Goya to mind (fig. 32). But the hesitant though insistent manner of filling in the shadows is quite unlike his. Those confusing lines have, in fact, resulted in blurring the outline of the stick held by the beggar with the folds of what does not quite look like trousers, nor like a skirt, much less like the dog, held by a slowly and waveringly drawn leash, he is heaped upon himself and recalls, even in his features, the sheep accompanying the shepherdess in one of the drawings at the Hispanic Society of America (fig. 34).

A comparison of this beggar with those depicted in either of the two superb sepia wash drawings at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, both datable around 1819 (fig. 33)²¹, would reveal the impossibility of maintaining the attribution to Gova for the drawing at the Lázaro Galdiano Museum. The same is the case with the brush. pen and sepia ink drawings of a Scated Man, measuring 146 × 175 mm, also attributed to Goya in the Lázaro Museum (fig. 35) 22.

A different problem is presented by the sepia wash bearing the black chalk

Etats-Unis, in: Arts-Spectacles, Paris, May 25-31, 1955).

21. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fifty Drawings by Francisco Goya (commentary by Harry B. Wehle), New York, 1941, pp. 11-12. The drawing reproduced in fig. 34 measures 205 × 143 mm.

22. Camón Aznar, art. cit.; Salas, cited catalogue, n° 163.

^{20.} FÉLIX BOIX, Sociedad Española de Amigos del Arte. Exposición de Dibujos, 1750 a 1860. Catálogo General Illustrado, Madrid, 1922, nº 202; José Camón Aznar, Dibujos de Goya del Museo Lázaro, in: Goya, nº 1, Madrid, July-August, 1954, pp. 9-14; Goya. Drawings from the Prado Museum and the Lázaro Galdiano Museum, Madrid, etc. (Introduction and catalogue notes by Xavier de Salas), London, The Arts Council, 1954, n° 160. When this exhibition was brought to the United States of America, I suggested that this drawing was by María del Rosario Weiss rather than by Goya (Cent vingt-neuf Goyas des musées de Madrid parcourent les

caption Tan vien agui hay amores in the Prado Museum (fig. 36), which I have discussed elsewhere 23. Both the caption and the number 74 in the upper right corner are unquestionably by Goya's hand, as is also apparently the composition, which is one in a cycle carefully arranged by the artist some time around 1820-1823. The execution, however, has been marred by pen strokes which here and there retrace, overlap, or depart from, the original brush strokes. Thus, the recumbent figure in the middle distance has a lumpy contour: this is also the case with the shepherd sitting in the foreground, who has, moreover, acquired a hunched outline by virtue of the flat-hued wash with his back has been maladroitly covered over. As for the ground areas, scratchy lines contribute to distort-



FIG. 33.—GOYA. -A Beggar. New York, Metropolitan Museum.

ing the rendition of depth. The overall design, on the other hand, does not seem to have been radically altered. Hence, though the arm of the shepherd with his back to the onlooker has been awkwardly overdrawn, we can still see how its spread underlines the scarcely retouched figures of the man who, huddled in the background, appears to be gazing at the girl, and of the girl herself. In this instance, the composition, though tampered with, probably by Maria del Rosario Weiss, still retains Goya's overall design and some of his vigorous strokes.



Two drawings preserved in the Museo Diocesano, Gerona, Spain, were attributed

^{23.} López-Rey, op. cit., pp. 55 and 102.

to Goya by Enrique Lafuente in 1947 ²⁴. Both of them, it is true, bear the artist's name, though, one must note, written by a hand which can hardly be identified with Goya's own.

The one representing two hags shows a calligraphic tendency which is all too noticeable in the strokes seemingly intended to give depth to the ground area, as well as in those on the skirt of one of the women represented (fig. 37). As for the signature, it ends with a flourish, the like of which is found in some of Goya's letters but in none of his drawings or paintings.

The signature, as well as the execution of the drawing, seems to come from the same hand which drew and signed "Goya" to a three-figure composition, whose



FIG. 34.—WEISS.— A Shepherdess. New York, Hispanic Society of America.

present whereabouts is unknown to me (fig. 38). The fact that no real attempt has been made at disguising either of these calligraphic signatures as Goya's own points to a carefree imitation such as Mariquita Rosario would undertake.

As for the second drawing in the Museo Diocesano, it represents two women seen against a large glass-paned window; one of them leans over what is probably a wash stand, on top of which there is a mirror with Gova's name blotted on (fig. 39); the hesitant, inexpressive lines and washes are obviously of a piece with those in the companion drawing and there can be no question that both come from the same clumsy hand.

The Círculo de Bellas Artes of México exhibited in 1946 under Goya's name

^{24.} Op. cit., pp. 38-39.



FIG. 35.—WEISS.—Seated Man. Madrid, Lázaro Galdiano Museum.

eleven drawings from the collection of Don Honorato de Castro, who had acquired them in Madrid some time around 1930 25 . Obviously, they are all imitations of the master's works. Most of them copy figures from the *Caprichos*, at times grouped together with others. Though plainly mediocre, some of them reveal a trained hand, particularly in the manner in which the hatching of the original print is reproduced. Such is the case with the picture of the hunchback taken from *Capricho* n° 14 27 . Incidentally, this drawing has been executed on the blank side of a letter or document, and the word $A\tilde{n}o$ (year) comes through the paper, though unfortunately not with the corresponding numeral. If this could be read, we should have a date *post*-

26. Ibid., plate 2.

^{25.} Circulo de Bellas Artes de México. II Centenario de Goya, México, 1946.

quem for a number of those pictures, one of which includes a few figures taken from Goya.

Most of the drawings from the Honorato de Castro collection show a certain skill in the rendition of volume, and evidence little or no taste for the calligraphic line which seems to have been characteristic of Mariquita Rosario, at least up to a point in her career. A couple of them, however—those made after *Caprichos* n° 36 and 58 ²⁷—betray just such taste, and appear somewhat close to what we have reason to consider as her manner.

It would be a thankless task to try to date the drawings retraced or made

by María de! Rosario Weiss after her father'v master's. She started to copy his compositions in 1821 or soon after, and presumably went on doing so even after having entered Lacour's studio, at least till Goya's death in 1828. Seven years of training, from the age of seven to the age of fourteen. are enough to explain the differences in skill revealed by the drawings attributed to her. There are, moreover, two likely facts which should be taken into account. For one thing, Gova may have occasionally corrected Mariquita Rosario's works, whether imitative or original. It seems, on the other hand, probable that she—who became so proficient at copying works by old masters—went on imitating Gova's works after his death.

It would be possible to form four groups of draw-



27. Ibid., plates 3 and 7.

FIG. 36.—GOYA.—Drawing partly retraced (by Weiss?), Madrid, Prado Museum.

ings in which the hand of María del Rosario Weiss is discernible:

- A) Goya's compositions showing traces of having been carried out, as a whole or in part, by Mariquita Rosario.
- B) Mariquita Rosario's imitations or copies after the above-mentioned or after drawings or etchings entirely by Goya's hand. This category should include copies revealed as



FIG. 37. -WEISS .- Two Hags. Gerona, Museo Diocesano.

such by extant originals, as well as pieces whose derivative character can be established by telling stylistic incongruities—for instance, drawings which, ill-executed as they are, reveal in the main a Goyaesque composition.

- c) María del Rosario's further attempts at reproducing Goya's compositions. These drawings are often neater than those in either of the above groups, and occasionally correct some of the weak parts which mar those in Group A, or improve upon those in Group B.
- D) María del Rosario's drawings which show no evidence of reproducing Goya's compositions. Some of these may, to a certain extent, reflect Lacour's guidance.

Naturally our interest is mainly given to the drawings in Group A, since they preserve something of Goya's touch. They have, moreover, as have some in Group B, been attributed without qualifications to the master—which has somewhat confused the connoisseurship of his art.

A thorough study of the drawings at the Hispanic Society of America should throw light on the various phases of María del Rosario Weiss' work as a pupil of Goya. Miss Elizabeth du Gué Trapier has obligingly informed me that three different full watermarks have been pieced together among the drawings in the Hispanic Society. This has been done in each case by juxtaposing the four pieces into which one sheet had been divided, obviously prior to drawing on them. These watermarks do not seem to coincide with those of the drawings at the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. In any case, they add to the data which ought to be considered in a thorough study of the drawings at the Hispanic Society of America—a study which could not fail to throw additional light on the problem now at hand.

As we have seen, Mariquita Rosario's training, first under Goya and then under both Goya and M. Lacour, consisted mainly in copying, and we have a number of drawings which can convincingly be attributed to this stage of her career. Most of them retrace, copy, or imitate Goya's original compositions.

From the biography published the year of her death, we also know that Mariquita Rosario was placed at Lacour's studio to learn painting, and that her new teacher soon promoted her over all her fellow-students from drawing to coloring. She made rapid strides in mastering the use of brush and paint, and executed some still-lifes, of her own design, "representing the objects in the kitchen of her home ²⁸." Yet, none of her paintings from this period has so far been identified.

Goya painted a large number of still-lifes at Bordeaux, several of which are extant ²⁹. Though heavy with age, he would, according to Matheron, stroll to the market and stop "before the best supplied or the most picturesque stands; then back home, he would paint his picture in a trice, between two cigarettes."

It is safe to assume that Mariquita Rosario's choice of still-life subjects for her early canvases echoed Goya's eagerness for such paintings. And it would also seem safe to assume that the compositions of the young girl owed something to the old master rather than being entirely of her own design.



FIG. 38.-WEISS.-Three Women, whereabouts unknown.

There is in a New York private collection, a still-life which, though unevenly composed and awkwardly executed, brings to mind Goya's paintings of similar subjects in its overall design, as well as in some of the objects included.

Leaving for another opportunity the discussion of this unpublished picture, which may well be a work by María del Rosario Weiss, I should like to call

^{23.} See note 1.
29. José López-Rey, Goya's Still-lifes, in: The Art Quarterly, Summer 1948, 251-259.



FIG. 39.—WEISS Two Women in an interior. Gerona, Museo Diocesano

attention to some paintings which have been perplexing to the student of Goya, and ought perhaps to be considered in connection with the problem now at hand. I refer to the bullfighting scenes which have been going back and forth from Goya's to Lucas' catalogue—the latter having often been used as a dumping place for any Goyaesque painting which could not fit the critical standards of the moment ³⁰.

Particularly interesting is the case of two paintings which were listed as by Goya in a well known Spanish collection as early as 1863—when Lucas was signing quite a few bullfight compositions. At least one of the two scholars who have attributed them to Lucas has found it necessary to say that if his attribution were right the paintings in question would be the best that ever came from Lucas' hand ³¹. This seems too exceptional a qualification to make, one, indeed, which would invalidate rather than make cogent the conclusion to which it is attached.

It is obvious, though, that the qualitative difference thus acknowledged calls for some statement. From the point of view of dramatic composition, these two paintings are evidently far superior to anything that Lucas ever did. Even in point of execution, there are areas which bring to mind Goya's late works; others, however, show a studied brushwork. The eyes of the human figures are simplified into dark spots in a manner reminiscent of Mariquita Rosario's copies or retracings of Goya's drawings. or of her one signed sepia wash composition. The coloring—which includes a light vellow very close to the one found in the above-mentioned still-life—does not quite carry out the sense of depth which is, nonetheless, discernible in the overall design. This weakness appears analogous to the maladroit use of wash in the drawings in which both Goya's and his pupil's hand can be recognized. Hence, in the light of our present knowledge, one may venture to suggest that, in studying these pictures, it would be well to bear in mind the drawings in which María del Rosario's timid hand marred, in spite of Goya's guidance and active help, the compositions which he had sketched for her instruction. Indeed, as in these drawings, the awkward simplifications do not quite neutralize obvious brilliant strokes, and it is easy to detect an underlying masterly sense of overall composition. This would support, at least partially, the views of the scholars who have included these two paintings in the catalogue of Goya's wuvre; it would also help to understand the outweighing qualifications with which other writers have vitiated their attribution of the pictures to Lucas.

According to Matheron, Goya, while at Bordeaux, remade (refit) some bullfight paintings, using the palette knife or just a piece of rag instead of a brush, as if in order "to rejuvenate his heart ³²." These pictures must have had as great an impact as Goya's still-lifes on María del Rosario, who very likely completed some of such

^{30.} See José López-Rey, Disentangling Lucas from Goya, in: Art News, New York, March 1956, pp. 40 ff.
31. Lafuente Ferrari, op. cit., pp. 230-231. See also: Elizabeth du Gué Trapier, Eugenio Lucas y Padilla, New York, 1940, p. 48. One of the pictures is in the Oscar Reinhardt Collection, Winterthur, Switzerland, and the other in the National Gallery (Gift of Arthur Sachs), Washington, D. C.
32. Op. cit., Chapter XI.

scenes after the master had sketched them in. Such a hypothesis is, I believe, more plausible than the assertion that the paintings in question are by Eugenio Lucas, who admittedly never came close to executing any comparable work.

One word of caution should be sounded now, lest the name of María del Rosario Weiss be substituted for that of Lucas, or suggested together with that of Gova, whenever a picture is discussed that does not quite deserve a straight attribution to the master. Goya had a good number of followers and imitators in his day and afterwards. Among those who were his contemporaries, some are reasonably well known to us; yet, there are cases in which either only the painter's name or just one of his works has been preserved. For instance, the Duke of Wellington has a picture which I was able to study about seven years ago. It is a rather maladroit copy, with some variations, of the portrait of the Marchioness of Santa Cruz painted by Goya in 1805, and now in the Félix Valdés collection, Bilbao. According to Sánchez Cantón, it was among the pictures that Joseph Napoleon carried in his baggage as he was fleeing from Wellington's troops; this automatically rules out the possibility that it may be the work of María del Rosario Weiss, without entering into stylistic considerations. The studied, and yet uneven, execution of this curious picture has resulted in some parts, such as the Marchioness face and wreath, being overworked, while others, such as the outline of her figure, are oversimplified, the overall effect being one of starkness. Clearly, the painting evidences a hand other than Goya's, and rather unlike that of any of his known followers or imitators. In this connection, it should be noted that both the Marchioness and her mother-in-law had their portraits painted by French artists in Madrid early in the nineteenth century, and the possibility should not be excluded that the copyist of the portrait painted by Goya in 1805 was French rather than Spanish 33.

As for Goyaesque painters of whom no picture is nowadays known, I may mention Vicente Calderón de la Barca (ca. 1762-1794). Ceán included him in the Suplemento to his Diccionario ³¹. According to this entry, which scholars have over-

^{33.} As F. J. Sánchez Cantón later explained, it was the late XVII Duke of Alba who noticed the painting at the Duke of Wellington's and thought that it was closely related to the known original in the Valdés collection. Sánchez Cantón adopted the Duke of Alba's view and published the Wellington picture as by Goya, seemingly unaware of its uneven execution, which is not too noticeable in the photograph that he reproduced in his article. The painting certainly does not bear out Sánchez Cantón's surmise that "the execution is freer and one imagines the color more fluid" in the Duke of Wellington's painting than in the original at the Valdés collection (Un cuadro de Goya en "el equipaje del Rey José," in: Archivo Español de Arte, January-March, 1952, pp. 85-87).

For the portraits of the Marchioness of Santa Cruz and her mother-in-law by French painters, see the just cited article, and *The Spanish Journal of Elizabeth Lady Holland*, ed. by the Earl of Ilchester, London, 1910, p. 196. The portrait of the Marchioness of Santa Cruz now in the Valdés collection is listed under n° 416 in August L. Mayeris catalogue (*Francisco de Goya*, London, 1924).

^{34.} JUAN AGUSTÍN CEAN BERMÚDEZ, Diccionario histórico de los más illustres profesores de las Bellas Arics en España, Madrid, 1800, vol. VI, pp. 63-64. The only painting by Vicente Calderón de la Barca which is specifically mentioned is "el cuadro del nacimiento de S. Norberto que está en el colegio de los premonstratenses de Ávila." F. Quilliet repeated in French Ceán's information concerning Calderón de la Barca (Dictionnaire des Peintres espagnols, Paris, 1816, p. 42).

looked for-nearly one century and a half, Calderón de la Barca was a pupil of Goya, whom he endeavored to imitate; he seemingly was particularly successful as a painter of portraits and of rural scenes, though he also painted religious compositions. It may well be that some of his pictures are among those for which Goya's name has been claimed at one time or another.

JOSÉ LÓPEZ-REY.

Note.—The author is grateful to the Hispanic Society of America for permission to reproduce ten drawings (Figs. 3, 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 19, 27 and 34), and to the Metropolitan Museum of Art for permission to reproduce two etchings and one drawing (Fgs. 26, 29, and 33).

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Reproduit sur la couverture :

Un clown, par Goya et María del Rosario Weiss. Madrid, Bibliothèque Nationale.

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A clown, by Goya and María del Rosario Weiss. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.

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